

582 firm in stating that one had to marry within the
565 same class, of which there are three: nobles, commoners, and slaves. The last are called ata hoß, but I forget the terms for the others.

[587] They say that a lower man may never marry up,
[567] but that a higher man may marry down for a second wife. They are more open here about slavery than I have found elsewhere.

142 The people are quite handsome and many of
144 them are of the proto-Malay type. There are relatively few real Papuan or Melanesian types here. Here in West Flores the proto-Malay element predominates, and the East Flores Negroid types are rare. I also see frequently Mongoloid traits, especially the eyefolds and high malars. There is also a great difference in the color of the skin, many people being quite light-skinned
[515] here. The people are quite dirty, but are not so dirty as the Nageh of Soa. The people here
[197] say they cannot understand Nageh and hence not the Soa folk.

291 The clothes of the local people are shabby and dirty. Teeth filing and betel chewing are
304 universal here. Both sexes pierce their ears.
[276] However, the men seldom, if ever, wear ornaments in their ears today. Only the holes are noted.
[301] We saw some tattooing on arms. (I note that in Roworeke almost every woman and perhaps most men have their names or initials as well as figures tattooed on their forearms. This name
[177] tattoo is quite general.) (Perhaps this is the secondary acculturation of tattooing, "literacy tattoo.")

764 The burials here, I think, and certainly in
565 Soa, are outside of the kampong for commoners, but inside for the mosa laki, the big men. I note crosses on the mounds for Christians.

632 The districts here are called kepala mere-schappen. They are like the kakang and kapitan. This one is evidently Naru.

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684 fine. Evidence of a man adulterer is not good. I think he pays a fine to the wife, but I am not sure. Anyway, there was a case of a man in Ende who killed his wife when he caught her and a man in his room. The man escaped. The murderer got only a three months sentence.

[583] Although an injured man receives a fine, he does not get the bride price back, because he keeps the errant wife. If he kills her, he loses both the bride price and the wife, but he gets the fine anyway.

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682 Note: This led easily into the matter of killing a suwanggi. They say that there are plenty of suwanggi here, and, although the government forbids killing them, they do it secretly. They just won't stand for them to get away with their witchcraft. The guru said that they wait until the suwanggi is alone in the garden and then kill him. And no one in the kampong will inform on them, he says. They do fear jail, however, and this reduces the number of suwanggi murders.

589 A widow may stay in the house of her husband. The children belong to his family. The same is true of a widower.

● 587 A very regular procedure is the levirate. There is no bride price in such a case. The brother merely takes in a widow or widows together with the children. It is a duty, and moreover they are pusaka of the family, as the old man paid for the women. I asked what the Catholics did about this, and he said this is all right if they merely take in a poor widow and her children, but they do not allow sex relations or marriage with her. Then he added slyly, but of course probably a man in such a position does have sexual relations with her secretly.

The sororate is also usual, although it is not required. However, if the pair has already

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- 587 moved out of the girl's house, a man must pay another price for her sister. If they have not yet moved out (for example, the guru still lives in the house of his wife's father, the head guru), no bride price is paid, and the father gives a sister free.

601 Now, note the beauty of the kinship terms
587 here. I had wondered why the terms ari and
835 ka'e were restricted to: brother (man speaking), sister (woman speaking), sister-in-law (man speaking), brother-in-law (woman speaking), wife's sister (man speaking), husband's brother (woman speaking), brother's wife (man speaking), and sister's husband (woman speaking). The fact is that the terms mean, not really sibling, but these relations and these linkages only. The connotation is that one can marry his or her ari or ka'e, while the real brother and sister terms (nara, veta) mean a marriage taboo. Thus the levirate and sororate are beautifully reflected in these terms. Where the terms are used for persons of the same sex, they cause no trouble, because marriage here is impossible anyway. Perhaps the truth is that they mean brother and sister, in a way, but since they have to have other terms to indicate ones who cannot be married, they have also the terms nara and veta. The edja and ipa terms, the other ones for cousins, make no difference, as they also are used for persons of the same sex.

842 The belief here is that the more children
578 one has the better it is. They are sad if
181 they have only a few children. They like children of both sexes for different reasons. Boys are good to work in the gardens (and can develop new land) and are good in standing up for their father (a relic of the old war days, but even now in an argument it is good to have a big gang, and as they say, "You can trust only your

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581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 They insist that there is not one case of
[848] a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on this is considered a terrific thought.

177 In the family the Catholics have tried to
797 stop: (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2)
595 levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3)
587 mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do
582 this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 In regard to the nobility, I can get no re-
753 action on ideas of magic power, and they say
[565] that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larantuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

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- 60) to'a a niece or nephew of different sex from the speaker, when the child of a sibling of the speaker is of different sex, i.e., "cross-nephew-niece."
- kae--ase a sibling of the same sex, or a man or woman whom a man or woman may marry in levirate or sororate (a possible mate, if not of the same sex).
- ipar a woman who must marry a woman's brother (woman speaking), or a husband's sister (woman speaking). If a sister wants to find out if a girl likes her brother, she calls her ipar, and if the girl replies ipar, it shows that they are ready to be brother's wife and husband's sister to each other.
- kesah a man who must marry a man's sister (man speaking), or a wife's brother (man speaking). If a brother wants to find out if a boy likes his sister, he calls him kesah, and if the boy replies kesah, it shows that they are ready to be sister's husband and wife's brother to each other.

● 587 The levirate is required. This gets into trouble with Catholicism, but Cornelius shrugged his shoulders when I said this. I told him that the Ende Catholics say that it is all right for a man to take his brother's widow into his house and care for her and her children, although they should not have sexual relations with each other. Of course they can't marry. He laughed when I said that the Ende guru remarked that although they are supposed not to have sex relations with a brother's widow, what can they do when she is in the same house?

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- 587 I must check on the following: If there is no levirate, must the new husband of a widow pay the full bride price, or what?

601 Note how the kinship terms reflect the levirate: the term for brother's wife is the same as for wife and for mother's brother's daughter, although the vocative terminology is different.

The sororate, although not required, is allowed. The bride price must be paid. Still, note how the kinship terms seem to reflect the sororate: the term for wife's sister is the same as for wife and mother's brother's daughter, although the vocative is different. Moreover, in regard to the levirate, the term for husband's brother is the same as for husband and father's sister's son, although the vocative is different.

Moreover, in regard to the sororate, the term for sister's husband is the same as for husband and father's sister's son, although the vocative is different.

- 587 In the case of the levirate, a token bride price is paid. I found this out the next day, and it may consist of one horse. But this is the same thing as no bride price. The brother has a special privilege on his dead brother's widow. (They eat horses occasionally here.)

[262] In the case of the sororate, however, the full bride price must be paid, as the girl is a new purchase.

- 601 He says there is a strong taboo against a girl calling her father's sister's son rona and a man calling his mother's brother's daughter vina. Not having any dictionary, I do not know if this is because there is an obscene connotation to these words for man and woman, but I doubt it, because they are used referentially. Evidently, it is just too forward. He said that it is cause for terrible shame if a child

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582 people married earlier, because they got their
291 clothes earlier. Cornelius¹ says that until
178 about twenty-five years ago you could see quite
old and young people going about naked. He
remembers this. They do not like too young
marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if
the partners are too old.

[561] There are no age grades.

614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are
clans which are even larger. Not a single clan
has ever become extinct. However, some panga
have. There is one such panga in Veol.

562 Formerly, the position of women was really
178 low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little
584 higher. Today there is a beginning in the di-
rection of freer choice in marriage. Formerly
all marriages were arranged by the elders.

611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there
have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius¹ says, there were five
thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will
check the records for the ratio.

● 587 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If
768 there is no brother, her family must take her
back, and pay one horse. The children stay with
the dead father's family. If the levirate goes
through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the
brother of her deceased husband, the price must
be paid to the family of the dead husband, and
the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not
required. The bride price is required in the
case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because
the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the
widower and his children. The children of course
stay with the father's family always.

586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur
and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not
barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets
another wife.

¹ [i.e., the assistant -- Analyst]

5: Kennedy--432 E-5 (1949-1950) 1955 OBI Indonesia
Flores OF9

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595 Case No. 207 40: 37, 30, 25.
771 The 2d is a Catholic, the others
614 are pagan.
212 All three are from different
clans.
All are gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 235 30: 27, 30, 30.
The 1st is Catholic, the others
pagan.
All three clans are different.
1 is mangko pitu, the others
are gelarang.
The husband has finished three
grades; the wives are illite-
rate.

● [517]

(Note: The 2d wife lives in
another house with her children.
Because the children are of the
same clan as her present husband,
and she is a widow, this is per-
haps a case of levirate.)

Case No. 307 30: 25, 25.
Both wives and husband are
Christian.
Both clans are different.
Both are gelarang.
The husband has finished 3
grades, the wives are
illiterate.